

JEWISH OBSERVER

AND

MIDDLE EAST REVIEW

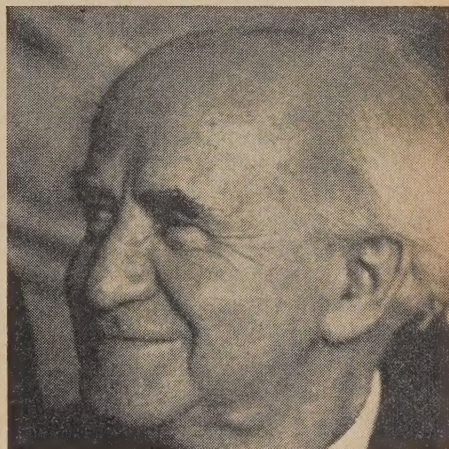
Vol. X, No. 39

SEPTEMBER 29, 1961

Ninepence

Ben-Gurion—75 this week— contemplates new tasks

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Kurdish challenge exposes Gen. Kassem's weaknesses

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Serraj-Amer dispute over Syria ends in resignation

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COMMENT

BEN-GURION'S FUTURE

This has not been a vintage year for the elder statesmen of our day. Eisenhower has virtually vanished from the stage. Adenauer has suffered what may turn out to be a decisive set-back. De Gaulle is facing a rapidly deteriorating situation with calm and courage, but seemingly without much confidence in its outcome. And for Ben-Gurion—who this week celebrates his seventy-fifth birthday—this has not been, to put it mildly, the most successful of years. His stature, like that of the other elders, has suffered some diminution—at home, if not abroad.

Yet there exists a profound difference between the case of Israel's Premier and the other three elder statesmen we have mentioned. The stature of Eisenhower was dependent on the Presidency, of Adenauer on the Chancellorship, and of de Gaulle on his successful functioning as the autocratic head of state. We would not dream of discussing their political future apart from their national status: Eisenhower, Adenauer or de Gaulle in retirement are no longer political factors.

One has to look at this background in order to appreciate accurately Ben-Gurion's different position. His future as a leader or his function as an elder statesman in Israel's political life is not conditioned by his status. He may yet have a greater influence in the shaping of a changing Israel out of office than in. That is why an appreciation of Eisenhower, Adenauer and de Gaulle must be concerned with their past, while a similar appreciation of Ben-Gurion must, of necessity, still concern itself primarily with the future. His past is safely ensconced in the historical record of his time.

* * *

What then of the future; to what star has Ben-Gurion hitched his wagon? There are not many men about whom one could ask such a question and expect a reasonable and convincing answer. But Ben-Gurion is one of the exceptions, for he has done it before. In the darkest days of the War and of European Jewry—in 1942—he proclaimed as the attainable objective an independent Jewish State in Palestine. Against seemingly impossible odds, he maintained that military victory over the combined Arab forces was practicable in 1948. Despite the doubters, he brought Israel out of her diplomatic isolation in the post-Sinai period and into a time of seeming calm and prosperity.

But there is one significant omission from this table

of success, an omission of which Ben-Gurion is probably more conscious than anyone else. This is the continued spirit of pioneering, of crusading and of sacrifice which played so decisive a role in the establishment and securing of Israel. Unlike many of his colleagues and opponents, Ben-Gurion is not convinced that Israel has safely passed into a phase of normal development, on the way to becoming a Middle East Switzerland, or Denmark, a country which needs no longer be occupied with the abnormal needs and unorthodox practices of the past.

* * *

It is against this state of dangerous self-delusion that Ben-Gurion wants to rouse the nation—and the Jews of the Diaspora. It is this that he sees to be as much a central purpose of his life today, at seventy-five, as the establishment of a Jewish State was his central purpose twenty years ago. He wants to awaken his people to the transient state of the deceptive normality which enwraps the people of Israel and the affluent Jewish communities of the Diaspora. He does not want to play the role of Cassandra, but rather to inspire the new generation of Israelis and Diaspora Jews to a new vision which sees Israel as part of a newly emergent Afro-Asian world. He sees Israel as solving her own still unsolved problems—not in isolation—but as a part of this wider world.

The uncertainties for Israel are still great. The future of Soviet Jewry—of three-and-a-half million Jews—remains a closed book, which may suddenly be opened, with unpredictable consequences for Israel. The technological changes in the world, and the great social changes in some Arab countries, as well as the advance of Soviet influence in the Middle East, are all factors which cannot be ignored. Ben-Gurion wants to see Israel (and American Jewry) practically, and above all, psychologically and intellectually prepared to meet these new conditions. It need hardly be stressed how far they are from being so on Ben-Gurion's seventy-fifth birthday.

This, then, seems to be Ben-Gurion's future—linked irrevocably with the greater need of Israel, just as his past thirty years of public life have been essentially an expression of the same need. Whether or not he remains Prime Minister is largely irrelevant to this greater issue. He may achieve his purpose better in office than out of office, or else better from Sde Boker than in the Cabinet. It is this Ben-Gurion, therefore, that Israel and the world at large salute on his seventy-fifth birthday, the statesman and the prophet in Israel whose greatest task is not yet done, but only at its beginning, for Ben-Gurion's future is also Israel's future. The two cannot be separated—not even by the politicians.

ISRAEL

WHO IS TO BLAME FOR ARAB RIOTING?

ATTORNEY GENERAL EXAMINES EVIDENCE OF INCITEMENT

from our Jerusalem correspondent

As those Israeli security guards recovering from their wounds in military hospitals well know, the border along the Gaza Strip is one of those places where he who fires first survives. The questions are asked afterwards, if any need to be asked.

On two separate occasions last week, the Israelis fired first, killing five Arab youths, three from Haifa and two from Galilee villages, who were trying to slip across the border into the Strip. The youngsters knew what they were doing. They were aware of the risks. But they were unlucky.

Their deaths, however, were grist to the mills of Cairo's propaganda services and to the active communist element among Israeli Arabs. When the first three victims were buried in Haifa, the rumour was quickly spread among the mourners and from them to Arabs throughout Israel that they had been deliberately killed after capture and their bodies mutilated.

Two days' delay: Within hours, there was hardly an Arab in Israel who did not believe that their deaths had been the result of brutal and callous murder. The extent of this Arab belief was grossly underrated by the Israeli authorities. Despite pressure from many sides, it was two days before the police, the military or officials in charge of Arab

affairs realised that a denial was necessary.

It is difficult to believe other than that those who organised the funeral of the three youths wished to foster the idea of their murder. Contrary to custom, their bodies were carried on uncovered biers and, the following day, the communist newspaper *Kol Ha'am* front-paged photographs of three blood-stained faces. The three youths were buried in a common grave, although they belonged to three different Christian denominations.

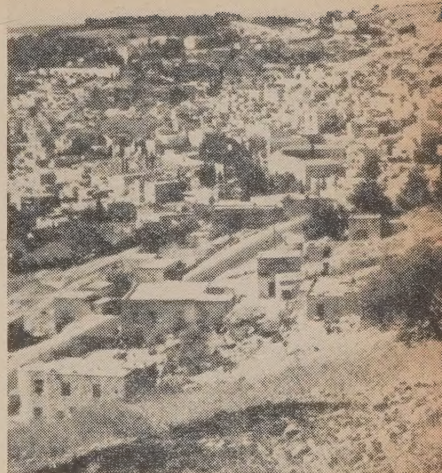
Meanwhile, the unrebutted atrocity rumours spread and were picked up by Cairo radio. Feelings ran even higher when it became known that two more Arabs youths had been shot and killed by Israeli security patrols near the Gaza Strip.

Trouble averted in Acre: The day after the Haifa funeral, the Nazareth Communist Party called a general strike and five thousand Arabs demonstrated in the streets shouting slogans against Ben-Gurion and military government (but not, it was noticed, against Israel). Some of the demonstrators broke into a school and others marched on the town hall. They were dispersed after two hours.

The next day, last Thursday, 2,000 Nazareth teenage pupils ran riot, showering the police with stones and injuring twelve of them. Two of the rioters were themselves injured.

On Friday, the trouble threatened to spread to Acre. Unknown assailants, apparently Jews, assaulted four Arabs in the Jewish part of the town and two hundred Arabs quickly collected and started to march toward the Jewish area. The police hastily threw up road blocks and the Jewish mayor, accompanied by his two Arab deputies, met with Arab communal leaders and succeeded in averting what would undoubtedly have been an ugly situation.

Cabinet's special session: By the weekend, Arab demonstrations had been reported from some eight towns and villages and fifty people were under arrest. In Haifa, preventive police patrols were withdrawn from the Wadi Nisnas quarter after Arab notables there had told the police commissioner they would assume personal responsibility for quiet.



NAZARETH

Today's disciples have other beliefs

On Sunday, the Cabinet held an extraordinary meeting (after having previously announced there would be no Sunday session) and issued a statement in which it defended the action of the Israeli border guards.

The statement said that the Cabinet had received full reports on the shootings (from the Chief of Staff, the Inspector-General of Police and head of Security Services who were present) and had come to the conclusion that "the five young men were hit by shots fired by the security forces whose duty it is to prevent illegal border crossings and to defend the State from infiltration by spies, saboteurs and murderers."

Inflammatory handbills: The Cabinet rejected as a base slander charges that the bodies had been mutilated. The Cabinet Secretary explained that this conclusion was based upon a full report from the Government Pathologist who had carried out a full, routine autopsy.

The official communique went on to say: "The Cabinet sees a need to make it clear to the public that the border situation requires meticulous and constant watchfulness in view of hostile infiltration for purposes of murder, espionage, sabotage and robbery. It is the task of the security forces to prevent illegal border crossings and transgressors endanger their own lives."

Investigation into allegations of communist and Mapam incitement of the Arab demonstrators are still under official investigation. In Nazareth, one of the inflammatory handbills distributed to demonstrators had been issued by the local branch of Mapam and the Cabinet

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Secretary revealed that a copy had been handed to the Attorney General who was to ascertain whether a charge of sedition could be brought.

Communist charges: The role of the communists, on the other hand, was quite clear. In a front-page editorial on Sunday, *Kol Ha'am* claimed that photographs showed that the five young men had been shot from close range and that their bodies had been mutilated.

The paper further charged that the killings had been deliberately ordered for political reasons, to provoke incitement and discord, that Israel intelligence agents had attacked the four Arabs in Acre in an attempt to provoke a riot and that other agents had infiltrated Arab demonstrations in Nazareth and elsewhere so as to shout anti-government slogans and thus discredit the demonstrators.

But it would be unfair to blame everything on Mapam and the communists. The radio stations in neighbouring Arab countries, which were obviously well informed on developments in Nazareth, maintained a constant campaign of incitement.

Haifa catch: The Jewish press, except for Mapam's *al Hamishmar*, supported the Government's position. *Davar* pointed out that, at the point where the five Arabs were killed, there had been 140 reported cases of illegal border crossings during the past two years. It is, in fact, known that the security authorities have been greatly exercised by the Egyptian recruitment of Israeli Arabs for their intelligence services. Young Arabs, fluent in Hebrew and with first-hand knowledge of the country and its people, obviously make ideal agents.

During the last few months, scores of Israeli Arabs are known to have infiltrated into the Gaza Strip, and many of them are said to have returned as co-ordinators of Egyptian spy groups. One of them, Hassan Arabe, from the Arab village of Shfar Am, was caught in Haifa after a dramatic chase, having earlier broadcast from Cairo on the Voice of the Arabs station.

Walid Salah Hassan Aziza, from Daburia, another Arab village, was caught near the Gaza Strip border, leading a group of three armed Egyptians into Israel. When challenged, the group opened fire on the Israelis. Two Egyptians escaped, while the third and Aziza were caught.

Other groups of three and four have been seen crossing into the Strip, and their usual reaction when challenged has been to fire immediately. Wounded and crippled members of the security forces



BORDER-LINE ARABS
Only across the way

are still in hospital as a result of these incidents.

Armed and dangerous: In view of this situation, Israeli forces in the vicinity of the Gaza Strip would be more than stupid if they did not assume as a matter of course that infiltrators are in possession of Israeli defence information and are either active or potential spies.

Most of them are armed and dangerous, are aged between sixteen and twenty-five, have attended Israeli secondary schools and grown up in the country. But their loyalty lies across the border—a fact which is proved by the persistent crossings into the Gaza Strip even by those Arabs living in villages bordering Jordan.

That the events of the past week have been fuelled by other Arab discontents is undeniable. There is much for the country's Arab experts to chew over. But the object of the Arab demonstrations themselves, to kick against Israel's measures for her own protection, must inevitably sour relations between the two communities, a misfortune for both at a time when Israel's positive achievements on behalf of its Arab population are beginning to outweigh irksome restrictions and other measures.

CAIRO FOOTNOTE: "The sudden uprising in Haifa and Nazareth was something that had to happen... We shall return. Our meeting in Haifa and Nazareth is near when the blood of the exile and the blood of emigration mingle to declare the end of the Zionist epidemic and the cleansing of the soil of the homeland." CAIRO RADIO 16.30 GMT, SEPTEMBER 22.

MAPAI MAJORITY RESISTED

**BEN-GURION WILL NAME
NO NAMES**

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem :

After last week's promising moves toward the formation of a new coalition government, the talks between Mapai and the four coalition probables (the Liberals, National Religious, Ahdut Avoda and Mapam) were stymied this week over the question of whether or not Mapai was to have a majority within the contemplated Cabinet.

Until now, Mapai has insisted upon a majority and its chief negotiator, Levi Eshkol, has proposed a Cabinet of 15 members in which Mapai would hold eight of the portfolios. But Mapai's four prospective partners are opposed to a Mapai majority and insist upon Cabinet parity.

The Mapai Central Committee is now considering whether it can reduce its demand or whether to return its mandate to form a government to President Ben-Zvi. The Liberals have already rejected the three ministries which were offered to them—Justice, Agriculture and Tourism.

Nineteen members? Ahdut Avoda's Israel Galili, who met on behalf of the "four" with the Mapai negotiators to discuss the question of a supervisory body for the defence establishment, unexpectedly rejected the Mapai proposal for a ministerial committee to undertake this task and insisted upon the appointment of a special parliamentary commission for this purpose.

But this does not appear to be a major obstacle and a possible compromise solution is seen in the formation of a "committee of experts" which might comprise, among others, Galili, Dayan, Eshkol, Harari, Peres and, possibly, Ben-Gurion. Another sub-committee of Mapai and the "four" is to try to agree on binding conditions of coalition discipline.

No interference: Ben-Gurion made it known that it was his intention not to interfere in the drawing up of any list of Mapai ministers. This was seen as another way of saying that he would show no preference for one group in Mapai over another. This will bolster his strength within the party, but there are some possible candidates who may feel the draught of his decision not to act as sponsor.

MOROCCO

JEW AT THE CROSSROADS

PASSPORT MOVE GIVES NEW HOPE

from our own correspondent

Casablanca :

It was mid-afternoon on Yom Kippur. Under a mellow, gently clouded, early Autumn sky, a crowd of the faithful applauded as a motorcade flying the royal colours of Morocco pulled up in front of the Talmud Torah School synagogue.

Crown Prince Moulay Abdalla, accompanied by Casablanca governor Colonel Driss ben Omar and a group of officials from Rabat, was greeted by the Grand Rabbi of Casablanca, Chalom Messas, one-time Cabinet Minister Leon Benzaquen and other representatives of the Jewish community.

In a way, the service that followed was a farewell to one era, and, as far as Morocco's 160,000 Jews were concerned, a sign of hope for the next. The ceremony had become an annual custom when King Hassan II had still been Crown Prince. His father, the late King Mohammed V had wanted the custom to be continued.

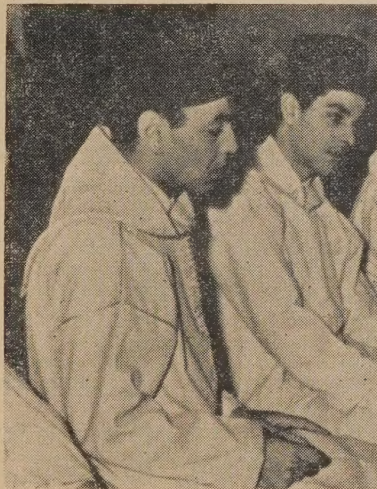
Passport rules relaxed : The prayer for the dead was this year recited for Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef (Mohammed V), Morocco's first king, who died last February after a reign distinguished by his solicitude that Moroccan Jewry should enjoy *de facto* the equal rights which were theirs *de jure*.

Although the ceremony in the Talmud Torah marked the end of Mohammed V's era, it left unanswered the question of whether the new epoch now dawning would be one of formal relationships, an "official citizenship" becoming steadily more strained, or whether it would be one of real *rapprochement* between the Moroccan Moslem and Jewish communities.

The leaders of the Jewish community seemed determined to explore all the possibilities of a real *détente*. In Casablanca, where 75,000 (nearly half) of Morocco's Jews now live, the governorship of Colonel Driss has, in the past month, brought a relaxation of passport curbs. People wanting to go abroad for business or holidays have had no difficulty in obtaining passports from the Casablanca prefecture.

Plea for the others : This has hardly been true of other areas. "The climate reigning in Casablanca," wrote David Amar, Secretary-General of the Council of Communities in his newspaper, *La Voix des Communautés*, "has been so beneficially affected, that there is no reason why our co-religionists in other centres should not immediately enjoy those same rights, the prolonged deprivation of which would be an even more unjustified act and even more intolerable than in the past."

Amar also went to bat for his co-religionists on two other fronts. In an audience at the Ministry of Justice he protested against the granting of the



KING HASSAN AND MOULAY ABDALLA
New dawn—or the old twilight?

force of law to voluntary conversions to the Moslem faith by Jewish minors of which there have been a number of recent instances.

W.J.C. in dispute : He also protested against the action of the local authorities at Sefrou, in the Middle Atlas, where, after friction between the Rabbi and several civil servants, the Rabbi's office had been abolished.

Meanwhile, the polemic continued between the Council of the Community and the newspaper *Al Alam*, about who had attended the World Jewish Congress and why. Marc Sabbah and David Azoulay, of the Casablanca Community Council, returned from holidays in Europe to affirm in a letter to *Al Alam* that they had indeed attended the meeting, but in a personal capacity.

The paper published their letter in translation, because it had been written not "in the national language, Arabic, but in a foreign language." "We knew that the W.J.C. has branches throughout

the whole world," wrote Messrs. Sabbah and Azoulay, "and that its influence on information in many countries could be important. We also knew that the situation of the Jews of North Africa would be discussed, and we did not want the discussion to become the source of propaganda against the interests of our country because of faulty information—particularly since the description of our real situation could have a favourable effect..."

"Al Alam" has last word : "We do not consider that a policy of absence or abstention from assemblies of international organisations is a profitable one. Moreover, we understand and agree that, apart from belonging to the country, the Moroccan Moslem feels equal solidarity on many points with the rest of the world's Moslems. Islam is much more than a framework of simple belief." The writers of the letter went on to ask: "Have not the Jews of Morocco the same right?"

"In fact, no country, whatever its regime, demands that its Jews remain strictly enclosed behind its frontiers, without spiritual or cultural contact with their co-religionists elsewhere."

Anxious to have the last word, *Al Alam* recalled, in a commentary following the letter, that the Algerian delegates at the W.J.C. session, Joseph Biton and Jacques Lazarus, had had nothing to say about Algerian independence, and that the W.J.C. had done nothing to stop recent clashes between Moslems and Jews in Algeria.

"Isolation not sought" : "Morocco," continued *Al Alam*, "contrary to what Messrs. Sabbah and Azoulay say, never wanted to isolate the Jews inside its frontiers and prevent them from maintaining cultural and spiritual relations with their brothers. But Morocco, which embraces the Moslem religion, and all the human tolerance which goes with it, will not permit these relations to go beyond the framework of simple spiritual and religious ties to oppose Moroccan sentiment and reality..."

"Nahum Goldmann not only asked those present (at the Geneva W.J.C. session) to combat the foreign policy of their respective countries, but addressed all Jews without exception, whether they were represented or not, and urged them to follow this line of conduct towards their respective countries."

Only some weeks earlier, a Moroccan Cabinet Minister had exhorted the non-Moslems of Morocco to preserve "the slender threads linking our civilisations." The question now seemed to be, who was cutting them, and, once they had been severed, what would be left?

IRAQ

ARMY ACTION AROUSES KURDS

KASSEM COMMITTED TO IMPOSSIBLE WAR

from our own correspondent

Sulaimaniya :

News of repressive measures by government forces against Kurdish tribesmen at points all along the 450-mile border with Persia has aroused the wrath of a great mass of the Kurdish community. It is one thing for Kurd to fight Kurd. It is quite another for Arabs to engage them in battle.

The result has been a cohesion of Kurdish emotion and action. Despite claims in Baghdad of the smashing of a Kurdish revolt, what has happened is that units of the armed forces have been committed to an unequal struggle with the Kurds in their mountain fastnesses and, while they have had their minor victories, they have also suffered heavy defeats.

A lot of the equipment with which the army was sent into battle has proved quite unusable in the mountains (as almost anyone could have predicted) and there has been recourse to the use of aircraft for bombing and shooting-up Kurdish strongpoints. But reports reaching Sulaimaniya indicate that the battle is far from over.

Spreading south : It will not be easy to subdue a movement with decades of



ARMY TO THE FORE—BUT WHO IS BEHIND HIM?
Bands and trucks look good in the streets—in the mountains they are useless

moral preparation, whose members know every cleft and gully of the mountains where supplies and fighting equipment can be stored with little hope of discovery by an outsider. Long practice in hiding cattle and sheep from tax collectors comes in useful when guns and grenades have to disappear.

More serious than the fighting in the north is the growing spirit of nationalism among Kurds in the south, who have reacted with anger to reports of the repressive measures being used by the army against their brothers.

The Mosul vilayat has a population

of 620,000, of whom over one-third are Kurdish and, in the places where they are concentrated, they easily overwhelm the rest, being from 70-100 per cent in strength. In Kirkuk there are 285,000 inhabitants of whom over 150,000 are Kurdish. There are reliable reports current that in Kirkuk the Kurds have attacked the official administration and sent the governor packing.

Tiny victories : Arbil's population of 240,000 is almost 90 per cent Kurd: the whole of the Sulaimaniya province is Kurdish to a man (223,000); and 73,000 of the 110,000 people of Khanaqin and Mandali are also Kurdish. The concentration of this power is important, although it has previously been cancelled out by the lack of cohesion.

What they do have is very generous paymasters, generous suppliers and excellent fighting equipment. Many of the young men and women have received arduous training in warfare. It would be comparatively easy for the Kurds to establish themselves, in a military sense, along the peripheries of the provinces mentioned, but to come down into Mosul town would be a risk and would expose them in the open plains where they would be sitting targets for the jet planes of the Iraqi Air Force.

In the north, Kurds occupied a number of the tiny garrison towns during the past fortnight. Repeated assaults by government forces have succeeded in driving them out of many of them and it is apparently these successes which Kassem is hailing as the quelling of a revolt.

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But it is going to take much more than these tiny victories to put down the Kurds now that their wrath has been aroused.

Russian decision: There should be no trouble for the Kurds in holding out for some considerable time, providing inter-tribal jealousies do not once again turn them upon each other rather than upon Kassem's men. A great deal, of course, depends upon how far the Russians want Barzani's men to go.

Kassem's claim that the British are behind the Kurdish trouble is utter rot. The Kurds, like the Arabs, are not only armed by the Russians, advised by the Russians and trained by the Russians, but they have also been divided by the Russians. The point has now been reached where the Russians must decide whether to encourage them to heal their divisions and go all out for autonomy, or call them in and allow Kassem time to pick over the lessons he has sorely learned.

Both Kassem and Barzani well know the meaning of the struggle in which they have engaged. If Kassem thought himself clever in picking on Kuwait (on Russian advice) while the Russians were organising the northern troubles (in true "Storm Over Asia" style), then he has only himself to blame.

Loss of prestige: Above all else, however, it is clear that the Kurds would never have dared embroil themselves in trouble if they thought this would bring them into a head-on clash with a strong government. The very fact that they feel free to engage in trouble-making is an indication of how little regard is paid to Kassem and his army.

Elsewhere in the country, Kassem has still to recoup the loss in prestige he suffered by failing to follow up his claim to Kuwait with direct action. The army was concentrated in the south for this specific purpose when his threat to Kuwait was made, but I have since had it confirmed time and again that it refused to move across the unprotected border—out of fear and because of lack of confidence.

With the spotlight once again on Kassem's leadership or lack of it, the talk now is of a Sunni revival. At present, there is a strong reaction against the British and the Arab League, against Nasserism and "imperialism". If the boys who are getting back into power concentrate on these currently pet hatreds—the result of Kuwait—they can do themselves a lot of good.

Thirty-six officers dismissed: Particularly noticeable has been the re-employment of former senior officers both in the armed forces and in civil affairs. It is

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a doubtful question, however, whether they will do anything to bolster the loyalty of the armed forces to the "sole leader". Only the 5th Division can be said to be loyal to him. It has always been a bit of a mystery why this is so.

Since the mess-up over Kuwait, there have been major changes in the higher ranks and it is claimed that Kassem was partially influenced in releasing the detained officers by the need to make up for the loss of those officers who were dismissed for refusing to march on the oil sheikhdom.

Some three dozen senior officers of the 2nd Division were arrested during almost the first week of the Kuwait crisis. The officer commanding was removed from the Division and given a civilian's job as governor of the Diyala province (where, incidentally, there is also much trouble).

No historic parallel: The 2nd Division has been anti-Kassem ever since the 1959

affair in Kirkuk when its men ran amok and drew upon their heads the fire of Kassem's anger. Whether Kassem expected the 2nd to regain its honour by taking Kuwait is a moot point, but if ever a division joins in a move against the government, the 2nd will be in the forefront.

Generally, the army is associated with the popular demand for a return to normal parliamentary life. It is aware of the loss of prestige it has suffered both at home and throughout the Arab world because of Kassem. Only the 5th Division, which Kassem keeps near at hand in Baghdad for his personal protection, seems untouched by feelings of discontent.

The fact that everybody is coming to appreciate is that Iraq is governed by a man who is not at all normal and it is hard to look for a parallel in history. He has organised the most fantastic 'of security departments but, with all that, the so-called revolution seems to have produced nothing of real good for the country and the people.

Ten transmitters: All the glitter of association with the Russians has worn off, leaving Iraq with an arms debt of £80 million and owing £75 million more for economic credits. But, despite this and the heavy-handed methods used against them, the communists in Iraq are probably the only organised group left in the country.

One of Kassem's more crazy enterprises has been the establishment of a huge propaganda system which will utilise ten powerful transmitters. These must already have cost a fortune, and that in a country which is culturally poor and needs feeding more than anything else.

The idea behind it all is to outdo Nasser, but no thought has been given to the fact that Egypt is already a long way ahead of Iraq in trained men and experience of the kind of propaganda that goes down best with Arab audiences.

Not the end of Kuwait story: And nothing he does now can alter the opinion that Kassem has been defeated by the British over Kuwait and that Britain has managed to sow the seeds of further discord among the Arabs with its "imperialist victory" in Kuwait. This is not altogether true. Things just happened that way. But there is a tremendous cleavage at the moment between Baghdad and Cairo.

If the Kuwaiti affair has hurt Kassem and helped Nasser, that does not mean the end of the story. With only 30 miles of coast along the Persian Gulf, Kassem is playing about with a dozen Russian warships, officered by Russians, and two old tubs that he got from Britain.



IN BAGHDAD'S SOUK
Faces come—and go

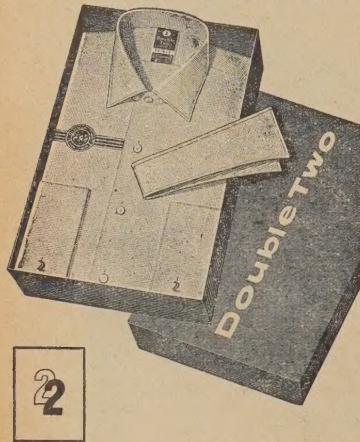
There are also signs that the Russians, will soon have submarines there, too.

But one thing Kassem certainly did not take into consideration when he plotted his Kuwait coup was the possibility that the Ruler of that small kingdom might hit back. There is ample evidence that he is doing so, with the two main weapons at his command: radio and money.

The first is being used cleverly to beam home truths about Kassem and his regime to Iraq. The second is being used more clandestinely to win friends here and there within Iraq. In fact, it would be no strain upon Kuwait's resources to buy up not only Kassem's enemies but most of his best friends, too. The Iraqi landowners, once powerful but now less so, having been deprived of their gold, are not averse to accepting a golden penny or two in return for whatever services they can render.

Russian determination: Kassem's personal tension is reflected in the tightening up of censorship, always a good guide to his confidence or lack of it.

But with all the beating down of the communists and the suppression of their publications, the Russians are still ubiquitous and their power and number are on the increase. They manage to make themselves indispensable and create small corners of influence which gradually link up to form one whole. Kassem or no, the Russians are here with a strong determination to stay.



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IN THE NEWS

CAIRO AND HAMMARSKJOLD

THERE IS SOMETHING inexpressibly hideous about the way Cairo's propaganda services are exploiting the tragic death of Dag Hammarskjold for their own miserable political ends. Especially blatant are the broadcasts to Africa which have suggested that the U.N. aircraft carrying Hammarskjold to his meeting with Tshombe was shot down by jets from Rhodesia. Exhorting its listeners to "remember the enmity and hostility of the Jew Roy Welensky," Cairo asks whether this "cunning Jew" could really allow a meeting on his territory between Hammarskjold and Tshombe.

But there's nothing much to choose between this and the kind of vile stuff being put out in Cairo's Voice of the Arabs programme where the "Jewish" assassination of Bernadotte is compared with the "assassination" of Hammarskjold. Some of his policies on Palestine had been "honourable," conceded Cairo, but some had been "negative." But, even so, he had been the target of Jewish criticism. "We believe that if he had lived a little longer and witnessed the future crises in Palestine, he would probably have been shot dead by Ben-Gurion's bullets and not those of Belgium and Tshombe."

On any count, however extreme, there seems to be absolutely nothing to be gained from pumping out filth of this



U.N. COMMANDER IN GAZA
A worthier purpose

kind. The first to deplore it would have been the late U.N. Secretary-General himself. If this is the best that Cairo can do in the way of an epitaph for a man to whom its President purports to pay homage, then the men of the "glorious revolution" have sunk very low indeed.

DON PERETZ TO ADVISE JOHNSON

DR. JOSEPH JOHNSON, who consulted with Mr. Ben-Gurion and Mrs. Meir in Jerusalem recently, before returning to New York to make his report on the Arab refugee question to the Palestine Conciliation Commission, has chosen Don Peretz as his principal adviser. Mr. Peretz has spent many years studying the problem and has written a thoughtful book on the subject. He probably knows more about it than most people.

Last month, Columbia University announced that the Rockefeller Foundation had made a grant to enable Peretz to undertake a comprehensive study of the means by which the refugees could be settled and rehabilitated. The American Friends of the Middle East have added a further \$2,500 to this grant. The purpose of the study is to make detailed proposals on the number of refugees who could be returned and settled in Israel, for settling the rest in the Arab countries and for the compensation of those who have lost their property in Israel.

Peretz would also be expected to propose specific rehabilitation projects within the framework of larger regional development schemes and for the raising of the necessary funds to compensate the Arabs for property losses.

This seems to be the only possible way in which this problem can be tackled and Peretz is probably one of the best men to tackle it. There is no reason why the Israelis should not wel-

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come his appointment and give him every assistance.

One must assume that Peretz would be guided by the same considerations as the State Department if the letter which Mr. Secretary Rusk addressed to Senator Rooney is anything to go by. In this, Dean Rusk said: "Any repatriation would, in our view, have to be so implemented as to take fully into account Israel's legitimate security and economic requirements. Contrary to reports, the Administration has made no suggestion either to Israel or to the Arab states of any specific number of refugees who should be repatriated."

CONFERENCES WITHOUT AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION

IT SEEMS THAT we are losing our perspective where conferences and congresses are concerned. There appears to be a

growing inclination to confuse them with public demonstrations at which the audience is lectured, harangued or advised by a series of more or less prominent personalities. A classic example of this was the 64th Annual Convention of the Zionist Organisation of America which was held at the beginning of this month at the Waldorf Astoria in New York.

Judging from the reports which I have received, the convention was addressed by a remarkable galaxy of American political representatives. Mayor Wagner was there, so was Republican Governor Rockefeller of New York and the Democratic Senator Humphries. There was the U.S. representative on the Security Council, Ambassador Charles Yost, and, representing the U.N., Andrew Cordier. They all said the kind of the thing the audience wanted to hear about the U.N., the Democratic Party or the

Republican attitude to Israel, the Suez Canal and the Middle East. It was most impressive—if only I did not remember so clearly the pre-election conventions last year, with their similar Middle East platforms which were so swiftly dismantled after the vote.

There was, however, time for thoughtful contributions on the problems of Jewish nationality from Oscar Rabinowitz and for an attack on "Dr. Goldmann's intervention" in Israeli politics from Arthur Hertzberg. There were also many more of the familiar kind of platform speeches from the President and the Chairman. The only thing I missed was the audience participation—which we used to consider the basic element of a conference and of the democratic management of Zionist affairs.

DR. HATEM'S DIARY

WITH THE EXCEPTION of Field-Marshal Amer, and in his case it is understandable, the soldiers in the U.A.R. Government dropped their military ranks a long time ago in favour of the more plebeian title of "El Sayed," a form of "Mr." So it was until recently with Minister of State Abdel Kader Hatem (a former colonel). But then, I noticed, he started to use the title Dr. The reasons for this, it now transpires, were cultural and not medical. Dr. Hatem has emerged as the cultural saviour of the revolution.

Summoning Egypt's most famous writers and authors recently, including Yussef Sibie, Mussa Sabri and Amin Yussef Ghorab, Dr. Hatem blithely informed them that theatre, as presented through the medium of television, was to be "revolutionised." "Arrangements were being made"—his own words—for the writing of television plays dealing basically with social problems and reflecting the features of the new society and serving its socialist objectives.

A course on television writing is to be introduced in the curricula of higher studies at the Faculty of Arts and the Higher Institute for Dramatic Art, and foreign experts will be brought to Cairo to teach this subject (Camford and Oxbridge newspapers please copy). I sincerely hope that, whatever plans he might be preparing, Dr. Hatem will spare a thought for that devout band of television addicts in the upper reaches of Haifa and other elevated parts of the Israeli terrain whose evening hours are filled with the alternative delights of switching from the Cairo waveband to that of Beirut, pending the arrival of their own television service.



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U. A. R.

SERRAJ IN DISGRACE

NASSER BACKS AMER IN SYRIA ROW

from a correspondent now in Cairo

While it is impossible to check rumours of widespread disturbances in Syria, it is no longer a secret here—despite press and radio silence on the topic—that Vice-Presidents Amer and Serraj have come into head-on collision over the administration of Syria.

In a private meeting with Nasser last Thursday, Serraj bluntly asked the President to choose between himself and Amer, but the President declined the invitation.

The Amer-Serraj row has been on the boil for just two years. It was in October 1959 that Nasser appointed Amer as supervisor of general policy in Syria. He thus displaced Serraj as the President's number one man in the Northern Region, a blow to his self-esteem from which Serraj has suffered ever since.

Administration near chaos: For the last two years, in his role as Syrian Minister of the Interior and secretary-general of the Syrian National Union, Serraj has been continually bringing under his wing as many facets of Syrian administration as he could lay his hands upon, playing skilfully upon the fact that he is a Syrian while Amer is not.

Claiming superior knowledge of the Syrians, he has frequently advised the President to follow one course of action in the Northern Region, while Amer, with Egypt's interests predominant in his mind, has advised another. The result has been near-chaos in the Syrian administration and failure to achieve practical unity between the two regions (though there were, of course, economic factors working against this, too).

Last month, following private consultations in Cairo between Nasser and Amer, the War Minister flew to Damascus to inform Serraj that, under new regulations to be announced within 72 hours by the President, the separate Syrian Cabinet would be dissolved and a unified Cabinet for the two regions established. Amer also informed Serraj that he would be appointed a Vice-President with special responsibility for internal affairs.

Directives questioned: When it became plain that Amer would continue to exercise his duties as "viceroy" of Syria, Serraj went off in a huff and complained to Nasser. The President, much in the manner of a headmaster scolding an obstreperous boy, told him to go away and cool off—and to behave himself in future.

In the cooling off process, Serraj discovered that his next post gave him far-reaching powers of investigation into the affairs of various ministries and departments.

He began to make a thorough nuisance of himself. He had the right, for example, to see all the files of the Ministry of the Interior and asked the Minister, Abbas Radwan, to send them to him. Radwan promised to do so, but the files never turned up.

He also started questioning directives issued by Amer concerning the reform of the local administration in Syria and, in a gesture of contempt, summoned a meeting of the Syrian National Union, of which he was still secretary-general. When Amer pointed out that he was president of the Syrian National Union, Serraj retorted that he had been elected as secretary by the National Union and would remain so until it voted him out of office.

Flight for three: Nasser himself had to solve this one. He did so on September 19 by issuing a decree abolishing the regional executives of the National Union and appointing one National Union for the two regions.

The round had gone to Amer. And so did the next one when, after it came to his notice that Serraj was lining up his own candidates for the governorships which are to be established in Syria, he issued decrees defining how members of the governorates and city councils would be chosen. This ruled out the Serraj men.

At this point, Amer called Serraj in for consultations. They were joined by Minister of State Hatem, then on a visit to Syria.

The three men argued for hours on end about the division of responsibilities in Syria, but without agreement. It was then agreed that they should fly together to Cairo to seek Nasser's advice. It was this journey which resulted in the Serraj-



ON THE WAY OUT
Amer, Nasser, friends—and Serraj

Nasser meeting last Thursday.

"Reasonable and necessary": While the three men were on their way to Cairo, Minister for Local Administration Ezzedin, who is responsible for seeing Amer's decrees on the governorates are carried out, was flying in to Damascus. With Serraj out of the way temporarily, his task would be an easier one.

And while Serraj suffered the President's icy warning to behave himself, Damascus newspapers at the weekend put the final touches to Amer's victory. It was right and proper said *Sawt al Arab* that the separate National Union in Syria should be abolished. "The National Union has to function as one man working for one cause with one motive to attain one objective—thus this reorganization was both reasonable and necessary."

On Tuesday night came news that, in the circumstances, seemed inevitable. President Nasser had accepted the resignation of Serraj who was reported to be on his way home to Damascus. But Amer had already got there before him—a wise precaution in view of Serraj's predilection for subversion.

But this is not the last we shall hear of Abdel Hamid Serraj. He will see to that.

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from a correspondent now in Cairo

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"Who possesses little," runs an old Arabic proverb, "has the first right to it." And, in a land where every man protests loudly about his little, the job of the tax collector is an unhappy one. But not for much longer.

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MINISTER OF ECONOMY KAISSOUNY
All in the books

souny the nation was warned that tax evasion would not be tolerated. More, any person aware that someone else is evading the payment of taxes will be regarded as an accessory and subject to the same penalties as the tax evader.

On the record: Warning against extravagant expenditure and attempts to dodge the tax man, Kaissouny announced that records were to be kept about every person paying tax. These would list not only taxes due on profits and income but, he indicated, would also detail the spending habits of the person listed.

The revenue authorities have been given sweeping powers to look into anyone's personal affairs and to decide upon a reassessment of tax where necessary.

Twenty-four hours after the issuance of these regulations, Vice-President Zakaria Mohieddin was exhorting chairmen and directors of national concerns to step up production. While they had to look after the investments of the people so as to increase individual incomes, he said, "profit-making is not actually our main aim."

Restricted dealings: The main aim was good quality production at cheap cost in sufficient variety and quantity to meet the demands of the home market and at prices which would be competitive.

It was perhaps unfortunate that Mohieddin's brave words coincided with the re-opening of the Cairo and Alexandria stock exchanges, where speculation for personal gain is more a motivat-

ing force than a national interest.

Mind you, the stocks on offer are all in government-owned enterprises or are government loan bonds. Speculators have to make their choice from just over 100 stocks having a total value of £320 million. Only a limited number of shares are offered for sale and it would be impossible for any person to buy up a major shareholding in any of the enterprises listed on the exchange.

Cotton disaster: It is hard to avoid the impression that the exchange has been converted into a rather select gambling casino. This was given added point by a regulation in Damascus allowing the free circulation of shares in various approved companies. The regulation was accompanied by an official warning that shareholders intending to dispose of stocks should take care in doing so "lest a sudden offer of shares should lead to a decrease in their value."

But it is a much more serious matter when one of the nation's basic industries becomes a gamble, for that is what is involved in cotton growing. Despite the discoveries of science, man has yet to conquer a vast range of pests, among them those which attack the cotton plant.

The depredations in the Egyptian cotton fields this past season have been almost a national disaster. To combat a growing reluctance among farmers to concentrate on cotton growing with its attendant risks, the government has announced a subsidy of £5½ million to be paid to farmers at a rate of £4 for every feddan planted with cotton during the current season.

France, second best: At the same time, the repayment of debts to the Agricultural Credit and Co-operative Bank have been postponed and a Farmers' Insurance Fund is to be set up with initial capital provided by the government of £1 million. Debts owed by farmers to the Bank amount to more than £15 million. It is proposed that repayment should start next year and be spread over three years.

The cotton picture is much brighter in Syria, where the total quantity of cotton committed for export from the beginning of the season until the end of August amounted to 98,555 tons, an increase of nearly 13,000 tons over last year. Syria's biggest customer this year was communist China which took 13,653 tons.

It is an interesting fact that France, the "main enemy of the Arab world" in the eyes of the Cairo propaganda services and the object of several boycott suggestions put before the Arab League, is Syria's second main customer taking 12,462 tons.



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U. S. A.

A ZIONIST GROUP WITH IDEAS

CUT-PRICE DRUGS—AND BURIALS

from our own correspondent

New York :

One of the great questions that community organisation executives keep asking themselves and their associates is—what can we offer our members? What can we give them? What can we give them to do?

The synagogue-oriented groups find it easier to answer these questions. They usually start off with the advantage of a building in which they can stage every kind of social and cultural activity commensurate with the demands and interests of the members—and in keeping, of course, with the dignity of the congregation.

Bridge clubs, dancing clubs, tennis clubs—there you have a programme. But what about the mass movements? How, for instance, do you hold a Zionist organisation together? How can you attract new members?

Home delivery: There is one group on the American Zionist scene that seems to have the answers to these questions—Bnai Zion, a fraternal Zionist grouping which, with an enrolment of 3,865 new members in the past year, looks pretty well set to achieve a goal of 20,000 members by 1965. Bnai Zion has a programme—it provides its members with some very useful facilities: medical insurance, medicines at reduced rates and burial plots.

A recent issue of the organisation's publication, for instance, announced a "New Plan to Cut Drug Costs for Bnai Zion Members" and went on: "With the cost of drugs" (medicines) "skyrocketing, Bnai Zion is happy to present a plan to its members which will provide them and their families with prescriptions, medicines, vitamins and all drug store needs at reduced prices. This service was made possible as a direct result of our phenomenal growth, in which you had a share."

And the Bnai Zion member does not need to go to the pharmacy in person: "You can phone in, mail or call in person and your order will be delivered to your home the very next day, if you live within the United Parcel Service delivery



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area (a fifty-mile radius from New York city) or anywhere else in the United States by parcel post, air mail or by any means you designate." The organisation provides its members with a list of the pharmacies from which they may order and generally there is a saving of about 30 per cent on orders.

Loyal Americans: Then, of course, there is the health insurance plan, of very great importance in the United States, where medical and hospital care is extremely costly and where no national system operates. Many Americans enjoy

certain benefits through contributing to groups organised in their offices or factories, but this does not apply easily to individuals who may be in business for themselves or operate one-man shops or offices.

Benefits can in such cases be obtained by joining Bnai Zion which maintains a structure recognised and accepted by the major group health insurance organisations. Such is the importance of this type of activity that, high on the agenda of the organisation's recent conference, were recommendations for negotiations with

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the group health agency for an expanded plan to cover "all extraordinary medical expenses above those presently covered" by the organisation's multiple arrangements.

There was also a recommendation that steps be taken "to institute a Red Cross Blood Bank plan for the benefit of our membership."

Of course the conference took note of other issues, urging the U.S. Government to take steps to end the blockade of Suez, reaffirming the members' loyalty as Americans and dedication as Zionists, and seeing nothing inconsistent in this, condemning the spread of hate-mongering, calling on the Congress to support federal aid for public education, and favouring an insurance programme of medical benefits under social security for the aged.

Many projects: In giving things to its members in the way of health insurance, reduced-cost drugs and so on, Bnai Zion has not forgotten that you have to have projects for them to do, and that's where the Bnai Zion Foundation comes into the picture.

There was a resolution on the Foundation which noted "with pride" the thirty-five projects established by the movement in Israel, including medical centres and a sports centre, and called on every chapter to:

(a) individually or collectively adopt a voluntary quota for the Foundation which may be applied towards a project in Israel or America.

(b) Organise an effective committee for the Foundation to plan for fund raising efforts among chapters' members and

(c) Utilise appropriately inscribed Bnai Zion certificates to memorialise or honour relatives and friends and as presentations to members for faithful labours.

To assure the Foundation of a steady and lasting income, all members are urged to "assist the Foundation in its long-term planning by providing future income through wills, bequests and life insurance with the Bnai Zion Foundation as the beneficiary."

ROOTS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

CAUTIOUS CHRISTIAN APPROACH

from our own correspondent

New York:

At a time when the community is weighing the advisability of approaches



CONVERSION IN THE BRONX
*A once thriving synagogue becomes
a church*

to the Roman Catholic Church, on the eve of the Ecumenical Council, on such matters as offensive references in the liturgy, the National Conference of Christians and Jews has seen fit to reproduce Jules Isaac's *Has Anti-Semitism Roots in Christianity?*

For 50 cents, Prof. Isaac's 1959 lecture is available to all in a translation by Prof. and Mrs. James Parkes. To round out the pamphlet there is a preface by the President of the National Conference, a "Preliminary Word" by a Catholic leader, an introductory essay by a Protestant, and appendices that include Isaac's 18 Points from his memorandum to the Paris Judeo-Christian discussions, and the Catechism of the Council of Trent.

With all this, Isaac's own essay takes up but a third of the space in the 95-page pamphlet.

In his preface, Conference President Lewis Webster Jones notes that: "Jewish scholars have long maintained that the teachings and judgments of Christianity—often distorted and misunderstood, to be sure—have been and still may be the significant source of anti-Semitic attitudes" but cautions that social, political and economic factors contribute "at least as much as mistaken religious teaching to this persistent psychological 'illness'."

Mr. Jones explains that the publication of the Isaac essay was intended to awaken in the reader's mind a new awareness of "the complexity of this problem of Jewish-Christian relations."

"Contentious proposals": Cardinal Cushing, the Archbishop of Boston,

agrees—in his "Preliminary Word"—that it is good for Christian scholars in the United States to be confronted with Isaac's ideas and proposals although, the Archbishop pointedly notes, "it is obvious that the author himself recognises the contentious character of some of these proposals."

But even if the Christian "because of his own religious beliefs" rejected some of the proposals, the Archbishop continues, "he must nonetheless recognise the author's right to seek everywhere for help against a recurrence of the tragedies of Jewish history."

Dr. Bernhard E. Olson, an Instructor and Research Associate in Christian Education at the Union Theological Seminary in New York, goes further. He feels that "Isaac is asking something very logical and reasonable of Christians."

"The defence of the Jewish community, the fight for the rights and dignity of the Jew, should be the self-imposed task of the Christian. Christians should take the lead in this endeavour and not leave it to Jews."

"The re-evaluation which Isaac calls for, must and can be done only within the framework of the essential faith of each denomination."

No support for anti-Jewish dogmas: "This period of re-evaluation has already arrived in America; it will spread; it will have far-reaching effects. For the fate

of the Jew lies in the hands of those 'majorities' of which we Protestants are a part, and it is our teaching, our concern, our action that will be decisive."

Olson notes that some of the "classical themes of the more ancient anti-Semitism are still to be found in contemporary Protestant literature, but not those of nationalistic racialism. Isaac mentions some of them."

"The themes which present the most difficulty to Christian teachers (but not, however, those necessarily mentioned the most frequently) include the conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees, Christ-rejection, the divine judgment, Law and Gospel, the Crucifixion, and similar biblical motifs."

"Some writers discuss these subjects with a definite anti-Jewish tone and with significant omissions which, apart from their total theological correctives, conceivably can instil or re-inforce a rejective attitude towards Jews."

"Yet, as Isaac also discerns, the essential teaching of the churches gives no real support to the presuppositions underlying the anti-Semitic crusade. In fact, at certain very vital points, the various versions of Christianity directly contradict those presuppositions."

Encouraging trend: "When a Christian is able to write about the Jews with an awareness of (1) the Jewish context of the scriptural events, (2) the implications

of his own full-orbed theology for Jewish-Christian relations, and (3) an awareness of the history of the Jews and a sympathy for their plight, he is able to discuss all the biblical themes with an effective thrust against the anti-Semitic mentality."

Dr. Olson points out that the encouraging trend in official American Protestant writing "is to provide no sustenance to any anti-Semitic roots that may have implanted themselves in the pupil. The faith is set forth in such a manner as to provide powerful antidotes to prejudice."

Despite such praiseworthy efforts, Prof. Isaac contends—in a foreword to his essay—that: "In Christendom the Christian roots of anti-Semitism go deep."

In this field, Prof. Isaac maintains, it is possible "to find an effective remedy for a detestable ill through the reappraisal of Christian education concerning Israel." This reappraisal—his fifteen years of study of the issue convince him—"should be made without delay."

Reading and agreeing: The only problem now that the pamphlet has been published is to get the right people to read it—and agree with it.

There will be plenty of Jewish interest, but the number of interested non-Jews is a doubtful quantity in a society where the "Jewish problem" is not honestly recognised as such by either side.

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BOOKS

THOSE WHO WERE THERE

MEDICAL BLOCK BUCHENWALD, by Walter Poller; 277 pp., illustration; (*Souvenir Press*) 21s.

JOURNEY THROUGH HELL, by Reska Weiss; 255 pp., map; (*Valentine Mitchell*) 21s.

THE YELLOW STAR, by S. B. Unsorfer; 205 pp., glossary; (*Thomas Yoseff*) 25s.

NIGHT, by Elie Wiesel; 127 pp., (*Panther Books*) 2s. 6d.

The writer of the Buchenwald book, a non-Jew, is a journalist. He was imprisoned by the Nazis for his anti-Nazi activities, and spent four years in various prisons before being transferred to Buchenwald in December, 1938. He was there until May, 1940, not long enough to see the almost successful implementation of the Final Solution, but long enough to see the S.S. and the National Socialist Party for what they were. This sincerely written book is the author's report of his experiences in Buchenwald concentration camp.

But compared with what Mrs. Weiss

went through—she and millions of others—Mr. Poller's experiences were comparatively mild. Not that this casts any doubt at all on him or his anti-Nazi record. It is simply that the scales of suffering are so vastly different, and that, while one can sympathise with Mr. Poller, who was penalised for being anti-Nazi, one becomes involved with Mrs. Weiss, who was penalised because she was Jewish.

Viewed simply as a book, *Journey Through Hell*, melodramatic title and all, is not particularly good. Stylistically it is amateurish and sometimes stumbling, and in other ways it could be faulted too. But the whole point is that this should not be regarded as just another book. The fact that Mrs. Weiss is no professional—or even experienced—writer, that she puts down what she saw and felt honestly, without artifice, without striving to make an impression and without histrionics, underlines and strengthens the effect of her book. And its title is entirely apt.

I am glad I read this book. It was not easy going. The descriptions of what went on in the concentration camps and on the forced marches are sickening. But this is what happened to six million of the Jews of Europe. There is almost nobody among the Jews of the western world and the eastern bloc who did not lose somebody in the holocaust. All that Mrs. Weiss writes about, and worse, happened to our flesh and blood, and the fact that it also happened to some "good" Germans does not make it any more palatable.

There will be many more books of this nature, and it is right that there should be. If the survivors of the death marches and the tortures and gassings and beatings can ease their minds and purge their memories just a little by writing books like this, then that is enough justification for writing them. We, who suffered only the inconveniences of Hitler's war, owe it to those others who lost all not to forget. And we have no right to sit in judgment on those who suffered. As Mrs. Weiss says: "No one who has not experienced this agony knows what it means to 'live' and to 'survive'." She also says: "... while a better world cannot be built on hatred, it is also true that there can be no hope of a better future if its foundations are laid on forgetfulness".

Like the dropping of the atomic bomb at Hiroshima, the events in Europe during the War have had a fall-out, so to speak, which is still affecting the survivors. Just as many of the inhabitants of Hiroshima show signs of the effect of the bomb and its radiation sixteen years

later, so the survivors of the death camps still bear the signs of what they went through. Some of them appear outwardly to have recovered from their experiences, but a chance word or a gesture will quite fortuitously recall for them some of the things they have been trying to push to the back of their minds. Even if they want to forget they cannot.

Yet perhaps there are some things they prefer to remember—negative things, but nevertheless worth remembering because, sometimes the "master race" forgot their claims to superiority. It is always so much more effective when an adversary demolishes his own argument. Mr. Unsorfer writes about an occasion of this sort in his book. When the Allied bombers flew over, the S.S. men in charge of the starving skeletons on their death march to Buchenwald threw themselves flat on the ground and turned white with fear, revealing themselves as the craven cowards their prisoners had always suspected them to be. This must have been small consolation to the death camp inmates who saw it, but at least it must have helped them to maintain or regain some of their own self-respect.

Mr. Unsorfer is a religious Jew who went through Auschwitz and other camps, and this is his story. It shows another side of the grim history of Europe's Jews in the nineteen-forties—the strength that Jewish beliefs can give when they are sincerely held and not put forward merely as proof of their proponents' claims to be the only followers of the true faith.

What is described in this book is much the same as in other books of its kind, but where it does differ from some is in its delineation of people. The ones mentioned by name emerge as real characters, not flat, two-dimensional book-people, and their experiences show up the more clearly because of this. But it is a pity that the author should over-state his case, so to speak, by almost invariably referring to S.S. men as "S.S. monsters" of "Nazi beasts" or "Nazi murderers". Understatement can be so much more effective.

Night, with a moving foreword by François Mauriac, confirms the dreadful picture conjured up by the previous book. It is the story of the same horrors, but viewed through the eyes of a child who lived through them, watching his father, emaciated and racked by dysentery, dying before his eyes, helpless to do anything to ease his pain, and seeing his mother and sister taken off to the ovens of Auschwitz. His simple words show how the suffering of the camps turned normally decent people into little better than animals. But, for the grace of God...

Sidney Lightman

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FLYING ALONG THE RIGHT LINES

EL AL SHOWS A HEALTHY PROFIT

from our own correspondent

Tel Aviv :

The speed at which airline business is expanding can be seen from the latest El Al annual report. The national airline flew 109,846 passengers in and out of Lydda last year, an increase of over 23,000 compared with the year before, when the total reached 86,484.

Even on the Atlantic route, a notoriously cut-throat one, El Al put up its share of the passenger traffic by 15½ per cent to 31,103, an encouraging trend which the airline hopes to see bettered.

However, more passengers do not necessarily mean a bigger share of the total air flight market. On the Israel route, for instance, although El Al's total of passengers carried showed such a big increase, the actual percentage of Israel flights by all airlines racked up by El Al, declined from just over half to 47 per cent.

Selling Britannias: Just the same, Israel's national airline showed a profit for the second year running. After getting into the black by £60,000 in 1959-60, El Al made an even better showing in 1960-61. Revenue from passengers, air freight and mails amounted to £47,913,000, giving the company a substantially bigger profit than the previous year—£11,567,000.

By next year the make-up of El Al's fleet will have changed considerably.

Despite the fact that, last year, the airline's four Bristol Britannias were in the air for an average of 9.3 hours a day and flew 13,562 hours on commercial and chartered flights, the management obviously considers that they are due for honourable retirement.

Negotiations for their sale are already going on, and they will be replaced by medium range Boeing 720B's, which are already on order. The American Export-Import Bank granted El Al a loan some time ago for 80 per cent of the cost of the new planes. The company will pay 5½ per cent interest on the \$12.7 million it has borrowed for 7½ years.

Higher expenses: The two Constellations still flying on some El Al routes will be withdrawn from service on October 15, and the company does not expect to have sold its Britannias by then, because some of them will be replacing the Constellations.

Despite all the changes and improvements, however, one factor always seems to defy any attempt at amelioration, not only as far as El Al is concerned, but for all airlines. Expenses keep on going up. El Al's rose by getting on for 15 per cent during 1960-61, reaching £46,346,000. So far, revenue has been one jump ahead, and the airline hopes to keep it that way.



HAPPY LANDING AT LYDDA FROM AN EL AL GIANT JET

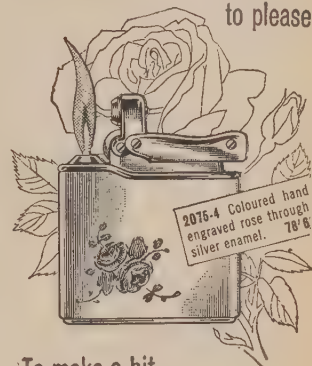
As the aircraft get larger, the competition—and the costs—gets bigger

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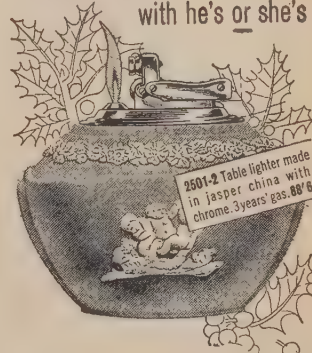
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LETTER

FILLING THE HOTEL GAP

Sir,—Your "Memo to the Government Tourist Office" on page nine of your issue of September 8, has come at an appropriate time.

There is no doubt that the emphasis in the construction of hotels in Israel has been laid on so called "A" hotels which cater for the wealthy tourists. To those of us who have been actively engaged in trying to send young people to Israel, either on a Youth Jamboree such as the one Maccabi has just organised or on a study mission or even on a holiday, the accommodation problem has been found increasingly difficult. Something was needed between the "A" type hotels and the youth hostels.

This gap has been largely filled by the establishment of the Maccabiah Village. The problem of accommodating the athletes from overseas who converge on Israel every four years to take part in the Maccabiah was the first impetus towards the erection of Kfar HaMaccabiah. Adjacent to the National Park at Ramat Gan on some 40 dunams of land, some magnificent buildings have risen in that impeccable contemporary style for which Israeli architects are gaining a world-wide reputation. A maximum of 400 people can enjoy the facilities which range from double bedrooms with private bath to comfortable dormitories

accommodating up to six.

It will not be long before group after group from many countries will take advantage of the facilities at the Maccabiah Village which include a magnificent swimming pool, dining rooms and separate milk and meat kitchens. The conditions are well-nigh perfect and prices will be eminently reasonable.

The Government of Israel has expressed

its approval and confidence in this venture by lending us a substantial amount towards the cost of building, which exceeds IE2,000,000.

Considerable progress has thus been made in "filling the gap" referred to by you.

Fred Worms

Chairman—Maccabi European Regional Executive

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BROADCASTS FROM ISRAEL

Wavelength 33.3 metres

Fri. 29th September: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Our Correspondent Reports, 9.30 Sabbath Programme, 9.44 News Headlines.
Sat. 30th September: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Editorial Opinion, 9.35 Melave Malka: Cantorial Music for Shemini Atzeret, 9.44 News Headlines.
Sun. 1st October: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Simchat Torah: Rejoicing in the Law, 9.44 News Headlines.
Mon. 2nd October: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Newsreel, 9.35 The Bible in Music, 9.44 News Headlines.
Tues. 3rd October: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Commentary, 9.30 Israel Song Writers: 1—Moshe Wilensky, 9.44 News Headlines.
Wed. 4th October: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Report on the 2nd International Bible Quiz, 9.44 News Headlines.
Thurs. 5th October: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Science in Israel: A Monthly Magazine Programme, 9.35 Israel Songs, 9.44 News Headlines.

happy birthday! ON ISRAEL'S BARMITZVAH YEAR

The Jewish people looks with pride on Israel's achievement during thirteen years of statehood.

BUT LET US NOT FORGET
MANY UNMET NEEDS MUST
STILL BE MET

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- ¶ Absorption and Housing
- ¶ Agricultural Settlement

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Keren Hayesod

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MUSEum 3815



JPA-JNF NEWS

Prepared by JPA/JNF Public Relations Department, 4 St. George Street, Hanover Square, W.1. Hyde Park 2286/7

CHIEF RABBI'S APPEAL FOR ISRAEL: PROSPECTS GOOD FOR HIGHEST-EVER RESULT

"From the results so far notified, we are likely to have a better-than-ever conclusion to the Chief Rabbi's Kol Nidre Appeal for Israel this year." This was how Harry Shine, J.P.A. executive director, summed up the first 45 synagogue totals reported by Friday morning. "It would be wrong to give an exact forecast," he went on, "but we shall certainly conclude with an over-all result greater than the £71,000 we raised last year."

So far an aggregate of £53,556 has been notified from synagogues in London and the Provinces. St. John's Wood once again tops the list with £6,100 (£5,300 last year) followed by Hampstead Garden Suburb with £5,138 (£5,000 in 1960). Most of the larger North-West London synagogues came up to expectations and this year there was a contribution from the newly-established Marble Arch Synagogue. This congregation responded handsomely with a subscription of £3,000.

Uppermost in the minds of the members of the Kol Nidre committee, however, is the question of prompt payment. All the beneficiaries nominated by the Chief Rabbi require their allocations with the utmost urgency, and synagogues are therefore asked to send in the money with a minimum of delay. The Chief Rabbi's Kol Nidre Appeal assists the work of a number of welfare agencies operating in Israel, in addition to the Joint Palestine Appeal and Children and Youth Aliyah.

Here is the first list of results in alphabetical order:

LONDON

Brixton	817
Brondesbury	1,300
Catford	300
Central Synagogue	2,250
Clapton Sha'are Shomayim	600
Cricklewood	1,000
Dalston	250
Ealing and Acton	409
Edgware	3,500
Edgware Yeshuron	650
Edmonton and Tottenham	85
Finchley	3,490
Gladstone Park and Neasden (Ahavat Shalom)	400

Golders Green	2,600
Hammersmith and W. Kensington	531
Hampstead	3,500
Hampstead Garden Suburb	5,138
Harrow and Kenton	100
Hendon	3,000
Highams Park and Chingford	330
Hornsey and Wood Green	90
Ilford District	1,800
Ilford Federation	240
Kingsbury	375
Marble Arch	3,000
Mill Hill	630
Muswell Hill	350
Ohel Shem	1,190

South Tottenham	200
Springfield	200
Stanmore and Canons Park	850
St. John's Wood	6,100
Streatham	500
Tottenham	175
Upton Park	140
Walthamstow and Leyton	250
Wanstead and Woodford	390
Western Synagogue	2,000
Willesden	1,246

PROVINCIAL

Luton	300
Middlesbrough	500
Newcastle-on-Tyne (Jesmond)	120
Portsmouth	300
Reading	360

An Announcement by the J.P.A. Administrative Committee

Thank you for making this year's Kol Nidre Appeal a success.

Please pay your pledge at once, so that we may help Israel to take the strain of the new immigration wave.

Only cash can buy the homes, welfare services, tools and training now urgently required.

So far, £1,660,000 has been raised this year for our National Campaign.

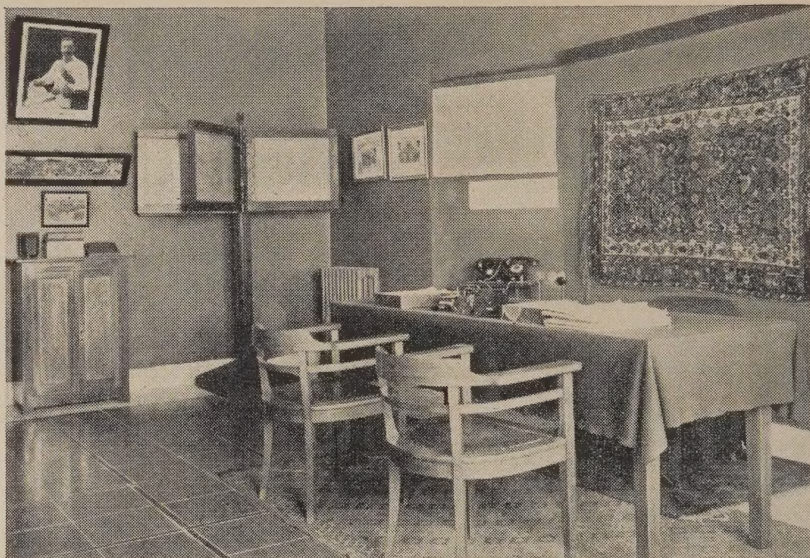
J P A - J N F NEWS

MENAHEM
USSISHKINA PEN-PORTRAIT ON THE
20th ANNIVERSARY
OF HIS DEATH

Sixty years, stretching from the Hibbat Zion days in Russia to the Second World War, mark the span of Menahem Ussishkin's service to the Zionist movement. This week is the 20th anniversary of his death, an occasion that takes us back to a man whose name is identified more closely than any other with the history of the Jewish National Fund, a movement he led for a third of a century.

Ussishkin's interpretation of Zionism centred on practical work in Eretz Israel, and in this he used only one argument: "Nothing can resist the will." Consequently, Ussishkin often appeared to be intolerant, and his concept of Zionism over-simple. But in the perspective of history, we see now how his ideas broadened, and that in fact he kept abreast with the times.

This son of a Lithuanian Hassid attended the first Zionist Congress in the full realisation that it was convened by a man whose views of the movement could not be in accord with his own. Only once did Ussishkin fight *à outrance* for his principles. This was during the Uganda conflict. He feared that the proposal imperilled the very foundations of



The modest room in Jerusalem that was Ussishkin's study

Zionism. And in this he was proved correct.

Ussishkin, though a practical man, was at home in the realm of ideas. He was a profound admirer of Ahad Ha-am and Bialik, even though politically he was frequently at odds with them.

Living in a Russia that was virtually cut off from Western Europe during the First World War, he did not participate in the political negotiations leading to the Balfour Declaration, but he appeared with Weizmann and Sokolow at the Peace Conference in Versailles, to request international recognition of the Declaration from the nations of the world. He was the member of the three-man deputation to make his speech in Hebrew.

Ussishkin was head of the Representative Council of the National Home (Va'ad Leumi) and of the Zionist Executive in Palestine in 1919-23, and later headed the Keren Kayemeth until his death. During his leadership, half a million dunams of land were redeemed, and his view was that the solution of the problem of the Jewish State was the *land*, and the solution of the land problem was the *language*.

Unhappily, his enthusiasm for land-purchase was not at that time shared by his fellow Zionists, and his eagerness to settle young pioneers on the redeemed land was not fully understood. But he was adamant: the Keren Kayemeth would safeguard the nation in its homeland from the perils of social cleavage. The

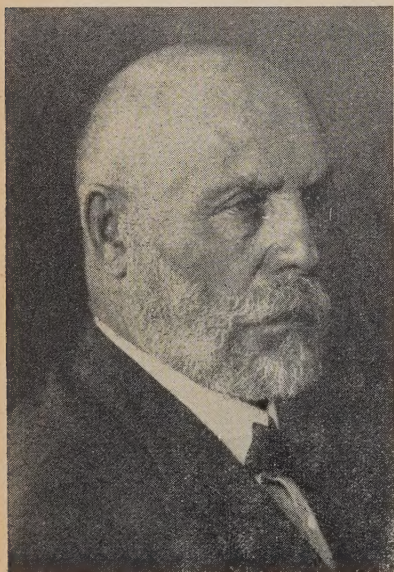
Vale of Jezreel, the Emek Hephher, the Sharon Plain and Haifa were the first targets of his efforts, spreading out to Galilee and embracing settlement, immigration and security.

When the Keren Hayesod was founded in July, 1920, he declared that it was of equal importance to the Keren Kayemeth. His view was that the one was concerned with settlement and immigration, while the other prepared the land base for an agricultural economy.

Jerusalem held a special place in Ussishkin's heart. "Without Jerusalem, Eretz Israel is just Palestine," he maintained. His love for the city was illustrated in a letter he wrote to the British Governor in 1920, when he bitterly condemned the lack of protection given against constant Arab attacks.

From the early Odessa days, he was actively engaged in raising funds to restore Jerusalem, and throughout his life he upheld the importance of strengthening the city and of establishing a Hebrew University there. When Ussishkin became chairman of the Va'ad Leumi, he transferred the Zionist institutions from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. He made great efforts for the Keren Kayemeth to acquire the land of the Jerusalem Corridor and encouraged settlement in the city.

The establishment of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus was for him the realisation of a dream, and came about after tireless fund-raising efforts. He conducted negotiations with potential lec-



Menahem Ussishkin

J P A - J N F N E W S

turers, obtained book contributions for the library and finally invited Professor Einstein to deliver the first lecture at the new university.

Another struggle on behalf of Jerusalem came in 1937, when he fought against the partition proposal of the Peel Commission, which, it will be recalled, excluded Jerusalem from the Jewish State.

The man's life was devoted solely to the Jewish national enterprise. Every region of Israel, every branch of the renaissance, bear the marks of his manifold activities. In his son Samuel he has a successor who continues to keep the name Ussishkin at the leadership of the Jewish National Fund.

GROUP 22 HEAR ABOUT ISRAEL'S NEW TOWNS

The development of such centres as Kiryat Gat was illustrated by Arieh Chapman, director of the Jewish Agency Aliyah office in the Provinces, when he addressed a meeting of the newly formed J.N.F. Commission in Manchester, Group 22, last week.

The meeting, which was presided over by Irvine Harris, was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. D. Crawford.

Mr. Chapman, himself one of the first settlers in Kiryat Gat, spoke of the benefits of settling in a newly-developed town as opposed to life in the cities. He informed the gathering of the opportunities available in industry and gave some facts about the existing cotton gin and sugar refinery.

Comparisons were drawn between these regions in Israel with England's own new towns, but Mr. Chapman pointed out that although a newcomer to Israel would face many problems, the mere fact of being in Israel and taking part in its growth created a much deeper satisfaction than could be expressed in comparisons of statistics.

STAMFORD HILL

At the recent annual general meeting of the Stamford Hill J.N.F. Commission, the following were elected to executive positions:

President, Rabbi Dr. Lehrman; joint vice-presidents, A. Jenshil, H. Ross; chairman, B. Gothelf; joint vice-chairmen, Mrs. H. Ross, H. Lewis; joint treasurers, B. Levy, S. Sharpe, S. Brechner; secretary, M. Herman; education officer, L. Curzon; press officers, Mrs. H. Lewis, J. Klarfeld; joint auditors, H. Green, L. Sheeler, S. Mallerman, J. Rosenberg; box chairman, H. Lewis.

YOUNGER COMMISSIONS

With the start of the New Year, the Younger Commissions are now engaged in electing their officers and planning the season's activities.

Two of them, Charities Aid and the Birmingham J.N.F. Auxiliary Commission, held their elections at the beginning of the month.

Charities Aid: Trevor Chinn has once more been elected to the Chair. Also appointed: joint vice-chairmen, Richard Weston, Geoffrey Preger; joint treasurers, Geoffrey Lawson, Michael Brahmans; joint secretaries, Hermione Silver, Rhona Max, Patricia Cantor; functions chairman, Rocky Berman; executive member, Simone Lightman.

Birmingham: Chairman, Michael Hartheimer; vice-chairman, Donald Rainbow; treasurer, Geoffrey Harris; secretary, Eta Brookes; tree officer, Michael Phillips; Golden Book and boxes, Richard Canin; executive members, Peta Berry, Keith Drapkin, Pat Rainbow, Sandra Goldstein, Brian Harris.

IN THE GOLDEN BOOK

Mr. and Mrs. Asher Blake by the St. John's Wood J.N.F. Commission; Gertrude Rosenthal, on the occasion of the Barmitzvah of her grandson Jonathan by the Leeds Blue and White Bazaar; Philip Henry Mernick; Lawrence Michael Gold on the occasion of his Barmitzvah by his parents; David Bartle on the occasion of his Barmitzvah, by his parents; Jon & Rita on the occasion of their marriage, by Dr. and Mrs. H. Edleston, and Mr. and Mrs. R. Seiden; Maurice and Esther Wineberg on the occasion of the marriage of their son Stuart and Norma Abramson by the Leeds J.N.F. Fellowship.

Mr. and Mrs. Lionel Nathanson on the occasion of the birth of their youngest daughter Laurel Ruth; in memory of Eva Louis, by her husband, son, daughters and relatives; Barry Gershinson on the occasion of his Barmitzvah, by his grandparents; Jonathan Samuel Lavy on the occasion of his Barmitzvah, by his parents; Adam David Chinn on the occasion of his birth, by his grandparents.

TREE INSCRIPTIONS

A grove of 2,250 trees in memory of Bee Herdan by his wife Lily; 234 trees in the name of Edith Wolfson by the Mizrahi Women's Organisation; A garden of 100 trees in the names of Mr. & Mrs. I. Hoffman; A garden of 100 trees by Mr. & Mrs. M. Borman; A garden of 100 trees by Freda & Dave Singer; 80 trees in the name of Mrs. Sara Weinstock by the Group of Friends in Hampstead Garden Suburb; 50 trees in the names of Minnie and Simon Steinberg by Mr. & Mrs. Britz & Susan, Mr. & Mrs. David Burstein & Diane, and Miss Ada Burstein; 50 trees in the name of Mr. Harry Landy by the Hon. Officers of the Mizrahi-Hapoel Hamizrachi Federation; 36 trees in the names of Norma Suskind and Peter Kay by their parents and friends; A cluster of 30 trees in the names of Alexander Gerlis and Jeremy Gerlis by their grandmother, Mrs. Fanny Alge.

Thirty trees in the names of Mr. & Mrs. Samuel Gilbey by Mrs. Lily Veronique; 26 trees by Mr. & Mrs. D. Galinski in the names of their grandchildren and great-grandchildren; 25 trees in the names of Max and Steffi Leyens by the Friends of the Brixton Synagogue; 25 trees in the names of the Rev. & Mrs. Saul Amias by the Edgware and District Mizrahi Women's Society; 25 trees in the names of Carl Bernard & Taube Sandler by the Ladies Aid Society; 21 trees in the name of Fanny Alge on the occasion of her 60th Birthday; 15 trees in the name of Maurice Anthony Veronique by his grandparents; 25 trees in the names of Anne Levy and Michael Berman by the Southport Senior Mizrahi Women's Society; 15 trees in the name of Prudence Ann Yablon by Mr. Max Brostoff; 15 trees in the names of Mr. & Mrs. I. A. Neiman; 13 trees in the names of Anthony Roger Bloomberg by The Mizrahi Women's Organisation of Great Britain and Ireland; 15 trees in the name of May Abrahams by the Hannah Senesh group.

Thirteen trees in the names of Mr. & Mrs. B. W. Hyman by Mrs. Bertha Weber; 13 trees in the name of Simone Anne Kanter by the Brighton & Hove Mizrahi Women's Society; 13 trees in the names of Mr. & Mrs. Abe Lewis by the Parents Committee and Governors of Stafford College; 13 trees in the names of John White & Linda Watson by the Y.J.N.F. Commission of Dublin; 13 trees in the names of Penny Simmons & Geoffrey Kronn by the Y.J.N.F. Commission of Dublin; 13 trees by the Mount Carmel Beacon Golden Jubilee;

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Simon Raven in THE LISTENER

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R. H. S. Crossman in the NEW STATESMAN

“ . . . they have made a brilliant job of it.”

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—DAVID BEN-GURION

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